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ABSTRACT

Although previous research has attempted to encompass such overlapping concepts as needs, functions, motives, and gratifications obtained from mass media exposure, no serious attempt has been made to answer the question, "Why do so many people spend so much time watching television? This project focused on obtaining motives and gratification information from young people in crder to comprehend the evolution of adult gratification. During a specified time period, 726 children in a school district in London, England, were interviewed by means of a self-administered questionnaire. In the nine schools tested, equivalent numbers of classes of 9-, 12-, and 15-year-old children were systematically selected to yield a representative pooling of respondents. The analysis of the questionnaire revealed that the major reasons children watch television are: for arousal, for companionship, to relax, to forget, as a habit, to learn, and to pass time. A useful means of identifying a finite and similar set of motivations for going to television among a wide range cf young people is presented. (EE)

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GRATIFICATIONS AND MOTIVATIONS OF TELEVISION VIEWING FOR BRITISH CHILDREN

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INTRODUCTION

To the question, "Why do so many people spend so much time with the media?", advertisers say Hooray, social critics say Shame, the audience says Why Not, and social researchers say It's an Empirical Question.

The question was first studied by Herta Herzog in the 1940's in her effort to understand what needs radio soap operas fulfilled for its women listeners (Herzog, 1944). That was a semi-clinical, intensive attempt to obtain articulated expressions of personal needs.

This type of research has attempted to encompass such overlapping concepts as needs, functions, motives, and gratifications obtained from mass media exposure. Yet, no serious attempt to examine the television medium in such a vein occurred until the late 1960's. Since then, major efforts in such diverse places as England, Sweden, and Israel have contributed some significant new theories and findings, without counterpart efforts in the United States.

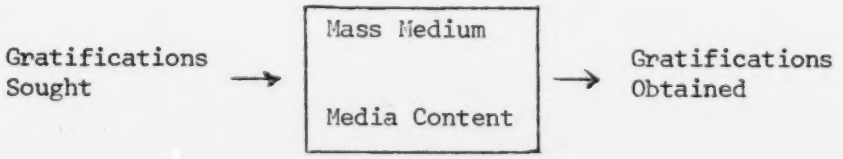
Although Rosengren (1972) has ably recently summarized the major new approaches in this area, some brief description can best set the stage for our own work. In England, Blumler, McQuail and Brown (1972) developed an instrument to investigate the gratifications sought from television. From tape-recorded discussions with fans of various specific television programs, they derived some basic notions as to the kinds of things people were seeking from the programs. They further asked respondents to differentiate among sets of specific programs, and these differentiations provided further input to their overall scheme. Finally, respondents were asked to react to programs

on the basis of gratification statements, and the subsequent analysis provided some overall dimensions of television gratifications, e.g., "emotional release, reality exploration, value reinforcement." More recently, they have been engaged in studying the relationship between gratifications and personal and social characteristics of various audience groupings.

In Sweden, Rosengren and Windahl (1972) have begun to examine the role of the mass media as a functional alternative to other gratification-producing activities. To this point, they have been exploring the implications of the use of the media as a substitutive activity, as escape, and the nature of para-social interaction between the audience and various media content inputs.

In Israel, Katz and his colleagues (1972) began more directly with receiver needs. They extracted from the literature a basic set of needs which were expected to be gratified in part by the mass media. Statements of the form, "How important is it for you to understand what goes on in Israel and the world?" and "How important is it for you to learn how to behave among others?", were presented to 1500 Israeli. They were asked how each of five mass media did in serving this need, and what extra-media institutions or resources also aided. From this approach, the researchers have been able to examine which needs are important, which needs are best helped by the different media, which media gratify more needs, etc.

All these approaches, and the present paper does not alter this, appear to be confounding in at least one major regard. Consider the following paradigm:



From such post hoc survey evidence, one cannot distinguish whether the response obtained from a viewer of the medium, or a fan of some specific content, is an accurate statement of what he wanted, or what he thinks he got. People go to the media to satisfy certain needs, or they go to specific content within the media for those needs. Blumler et. al. refer to this as the medium-person interaction. Yet that same interaction occurs on the righthand side of the paradigm. People come away from the medium or the program with something. No approach yet has dealt with the parallelism or discrepency between what was sought and what was obtained. Further, the issue of whether some gratification was obtained from the medium per se, or whether it is obtained from some programs more than others also remains open.

This project turned to the specific issue of motives and gratifications for television watching among young people. The significant efforts in England and Israel described would need substantial modification to be used among young children. This project was undertaken concurrently, but independently of those efforts, and without prior shared knowledge among the investigators. Subsequently, collaborative efforts have begun.

Obtaining motives and gratifications information from young people is seemingly crucial if one wishes to understand the evolution of adult gratifications. To the extent similar or varied motives can be identified for pre and post-adolescence children could be indicative of adult differences.

For youngsters, television is the first major mass medium in all the developed nations, and may soon be so for a good segment of the developing countries as well. For young people, television is the most pervasive, credible, consumed and adored medium. To understand what they seek from that medium, and perhaps what they think they receive from that medium is basic for understanding potential effects and social behaviors resulting from television, and as we shall argue, may be predictive of these behaviors.

In the United States, Greenberg and Dominick (1969) first examined television-watching reasons among lower-income white and black teenagers and middle-income whites. Although this study did not attempt to systematically isolate a comprehensive set of gratifications, it did demonstrate that such motivations differ strikingly among social class groupings. Lower-income black children were most dependent on television, followed by the lower-income whites and least by middle-income whites. This dependence manifested itself in terms of these motivations for going to television: the more disadvantaged youngsters sought more "school-of-life" phenomena, e.g., learning about life, getting to see what people are like, learning how to solve problems. These same youngsters were more dependent on television for excitement, for thrills than were their better-off counterparts. Functional differences were not found by social class or race in terms of such watching motivations as escape, relaxation, or low-effort expenditures.

A similar approach was used in this study to begin to identify the universe of motives and gratifications that young people seek and/or obtain from watching television 2.5 to 3.5 hours per day in England.

METHODOLOGY

During the last week of February and the first week in March, 1972, 726 children in a school district in London, England, were interviewed by means of a self-administered questionnaire. Portions of the questionnaire dealt with the children's reasons and motivations for watching television: these portions provide the principal focus of this paper.

The school district had some 100 schools. The chief administrative officer of the schools designated a sub-set of these schools as principally middle class or working class. In the nine schools tested, equivalent

numbers of classes of 9, 12 and 15-year old children were systematically selected to yield a representative pooling of respondents. The final stratified groups yielded equivalent numbers of children in the three age segments specified, and equal portions of boys and girls. In terms of social class, two-thirds of the children were from working class environments and one-third from a middle-class background. In terms of race, some 60 per cent of the children were white, and the remainder were Asian, African and other race children.

Administration of the questionnaire was done by the principal investigator or by associates trained by him; none were done by the classroom teachers. For the nine-year olds, the trained investigator read each questionnaire item, and the students followed the reading and then completed the item; for the older students, the questionnaire was distributed and individually completed, with additional assistance available on request.

The project was conducted with the financial and staff assistance of the Audience Research Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation. All control and decision regarding the design and execution of the project remained with the principal investigator. Additional support was received from Michigan State University in the form of sabbatical funding for six months. In England, BBC's Research Director, Brian Emmett, was especially important to the completion of this project.

Variables

Before going into the specific instrumentation of this project, it is necessary to indicate the methodological and substantive preparation undertaken. Five months earlier, in London, we gained some preliminary evidence on the functions and gratifications of television viewing among British school children (Greenberg, 1972). In two classrooms each of 9, 12, and 15-year olds,

the children spent 40-50 minutes writing an essay under our direction. The essay was on the subject, "Why I like to Watch Television." This anonymous exercise was done with the understanding that what was written would not be read or graded by the teacher. This prior work was done in order to: (1) determine the language of the children in talking about television and particularly their motives for TV usage; (2) gain some a priori expectation of what functions and motives might emerge in a larger-scale study, i.e., the one reported in this paper; and (3) to determine an acceptable mode of testing within British public schools. In all, 180 essays were written and analyzed. There were derived eight clusters of articulated responses, and these eight provided the focal point for the present study. They included the following:

1. To pass time. This was a predominant response for all three age groups, and did not change with increasing age. Sample statements include these:

"...it gives you something to do when you haven't got anything to do."

"...it fills up time."

"...people really watch telly because there is not much else to do."

2. To forget, as a means of diversion. Both these statements and the preceding ones about passing time may represent the use of television for escapist purposes, but there appeared to be a difference in terms of the expressed motivation for such diversion. Watching television to pass time appeared to be a relatively passive activity, and the statements about forgetting seem more goal-oriented. Here are examples:

"...it helps me forget my problems."

"...I want to get away from the rest of my family."

"...to forget about school and homework."

3. To learn about things. Here, the commonality among the statements reflected a desire for deliberate observational learning which might supplement school-type material. This form of learning was expressed this way:

"...it teaches me things I don't learn at school."

"...I can learn how to do things I've never done before."

"...I want to know what's going on in the world, in other places."

4. To learn about myself. This category of learning appeared to deal more directly with social learning, or wanting content which would aid the child in his social interactions with other people. Some examples:

"...so I can learn how I'm supposed to act."

"...I can learn about what could happen to me."

"...you can learn from the mistakes of others."

5. For arousal. This is the notion of watching television for the expressed purpose of being stimulated in a variety of ways, e.g.:

"...it excites me."

"...it cheers me up."

"...it stirs me up."

6. For relaxation. Virtually none of the youngest viewers, but a substantial number of the older ones talked about how television served as a means or medium of relaxation. One is tempted to contrast this motivation with the arousal category just described. To what extent relaxation is the antithesis of arousal, or merely something needed at a different point in time was not determined. The youngsters wrote:

"...it relaxes me."

"...it calms me down."

"...it's a pleasant rest."

7. For companionship. For some children, television provided vicarious companionship, expressed thus:

"...it's almost like a human friend."

"...it helps me forget I'm alone."

"...it is very comforting if you're alone."

8. As a habit. This was our catch-all category useful in lumping a group of less specific reasons for watching television. These were samples:

"...it's a habit."

"...I just like to watch."

"...I just enjoy watching."

Given that these data were derived from content analyses of open-ended essays, their generalizability was of course limited, but the nature of the content served as the stimulus for developing an instrument which would indicate a number of things:

1. To what extent are such motivations or functions independent of each other?

2. How predominant is each of these in the motivational structure of the youngsters?

3. With what other media-related behaviors and non-media behaviors are such motivations related?

The present paper focusses on the first two of these, and provides an example of the third.

For each of the reasons outlined, four statements were constructed which appeared to reflect that reason.* The full set of items is in Appendix A. The format within the questionnaire for the set of items was as follows:

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*For the arousal component, three items were used.

Instructions: WE'RE INTERESTED IN WHY PEOPLE WATCH TV. HERE ARE SOME REASONS THAT OTHER PEOPLE GAVE US FOR WATCHING TV. PLEASE TELL US HOW MUCH EACH PERSON IS LIKE YOU. PUT A TICK FOR EACH ONE.

I watch TV ...	How much is this like you? a lot	a little	not much	not at all
1. ...because it relaxes me.	____	____	____	____
2. ...because it's almost like a real friend.	____	____	____	____
3. ...because it's a habit.	____	____	____	____
4. ...when I'm bored.	____	____	____	____

Analysis. To determine the structure of the children's responses, and the consistency of those responses, each of 31 items used was inter-correlated and factor analyzed. This procedure was repeated separately for the three age groups of youngsters to determine whether developmental differences occurred. Principal axis factor analyses were performed, with varimax rotation, employing a Kiel-Wrigley criterion of two principal loadings per factor as a minimum.

RESULTS

The major analyses will reflect the basic factor structure of these reasons for watching television for the full-age range of children, including the purity of the factors and the inter-item correlations comprising them. Then, we examine the structure of these reasons for the three age groups. Finally, we will look at the strengths of the factors in terms of how predominant these reasons for watching television were. In a post-script fashion, we shall describe how these factors appear to be related to some other behaviors examined in this same field study.

Overall analysis of motivation items. Table 1 is an abbreviated summary of the data as factor-analyzed across all the youngsters. For each of the factors which emerged, we have noted from which a priori motivation set the item came, and its factor loading. Only the largest factor loading is presented for each item; the magnitude of these individual loadings is such that few items overlapped significantly on any other factor. The complete factor loadings and correlation matrix are available on request.

From this analysis of the specified data, we can identify the following major independent sets of reasons for watching television among British youngsters:

For Learning. What had been two separate a priori sets of items emerged as a single, consistent factor. No other items save those in the two learning sets -- learning about things and learning about self -- had any sizeable loading on this factor. This factor accounted for 20% of the common variance among the items. The children did not differentiate those things which might be acquired from television in a school-like learning fashion from those which more often are identified as social learning characteristics. If a child watched television to learn about things going on in the world, that child used television to a similar extent to find out how he should behave and how he should avoid mistakes. The correlations among this set of eight items averaged .37.

As a Habit. The original set of habit items postulated as representing a unidimensional reason or motive for television watching emerged as a factor. It is possible to consider this motive one of general non-specific enjoyment in use of the telly. All four items and only those four, had their highest loading here, comprising 14% of the common variance. The

children watched television because it was a habit, because it was interesting, and because it was enjoyable. The average inter-item correlation was .38.

For Arousal. This factor also consisted only of those items originally postulated as a single set. If a child watched TV for excitement, he also found thrills, and was stirred up by it. And this pattern was unrelated to any other reason for watching television. This factor accounted for 13% of the common variance, and the average inter-correlation was .40.

For Companionship. Three of the original four items designed to reflect this need formed a single factor, accounting for 11% of the common variance. No other items loaded with this set of three. A singular motive in watching television was to avoid being alone, when no one else was around to play with. This factor accounted for 11% of the variance and the average correlation was .34.

To Relax. Here, three of the four original items were retained on a single factor. Children watched television because they wanted to calm down and because they found it a pleasant rest. One additional item from the companionship set -- "because it's almost like a human friend" -- also had its highest loading on this factor, but it was the weakest of the four loadings. In fact, whenever an item came from another a priori set, it had the lowest loading. This relaxation factor accounted for 14% of the variance, and the items correlated .32.

To Forget. A final firm factor which emerged was the use of television as a means of diversion from problems primarily in the home. Three of the four items comprised this factor, plus a relaxation item -- "because I don't have to do anything while I watch." The children said that

television was useful as means of getting away from the rest of the family, to get away from what they were doing (or were supposed to be doing). This factor accounted for 13% of the common variance.

To Pass Time. The original set of items split into two independent factors for unknown reasons. One set of two items -- "because it passes the time away" and "because it gives me something to do" -- loaded together (Pass Time II). Another set of two items -- "when I'm bored" and "when I have nothing better to do" -- loaded together (Pass Time I), but separately from the other two. Even in lower-order factor solutions, these items split in this fashion, so until further research is done, this factor remains an imperfect one.

In summary of this overall analysis, six factors emerge cleanly as major reasons why children watch television. One of these emcompasses two kinds of learning, social learning and formal learning from the medium. The other five represent a disparate set of motivations for television watching. And while the data do not support the passing of time as a singular motive for TV usage, the analysis does not disperse this boredom motive to other factors.

In all, these data accounted for 56% of the total variance.

Motivation Items by Age Groups. Although the overall solution is the most stable, given the number of subjects entered into the analysis, we also examined the motivational structure of each of age groups separately. We shall summarize these data by taking each age group, and indicate which factors emerged that were interpretable in terms of the foregoing presentation.

For the 15-year olds, the factors of Learning, Arousal, and Companionship emerged in almost identical fashion to that found across all the youngsters. In addition, the same two Pass Time components were identified.

For the 12-year olds, the same factors of Learning, Arousal, To Forget, and Habit were identified. In this age group, the factors of Companionship and Relaxation melded onto a single factor with three of each of the original four items from these two components. Here one of the Pass Time sets also emerged.

Among the 9-year olds, the factor system was least stable, but nevertheless, similar components of Learning, Forgetting, and Relaxation emerged. All four Habit items and three of the Arousal items formed a single factor among this age group. Three of four Pass Time items formed an independent factor.

Thus, although one finds some deviation from the overall pattern when one breaks the group down into smaller units (as it might if one stratified by sex or social class), there is sufficient similarity to lend face validity to the overall factor findings.

Factor Strength. Although we have already dealt with the relative strength of these motivations for watching television in terms of the variance each of the factors accounts for, there is another way of evaluating these motivations. This is in terms of the mean scores which existed for each of the items in each of the factors. This would indicate just how much the child was saying each of these reasons represented one of his personal reasons for gravitating to television. Table 2 does this for each of the factors identified in the overall analysis. A mean score of 4.0 would indicate the child is saying this reason is a "lot" like him, a score of 3.0 would mean it is a "little" like him, 2.0 that it is "not much" and 1.0 that it is "not at all" like him.

Almost all the factors have means which border on 3.0. The major exception is that of the use of television as a means of forgetting about

one's problems, where the mean is substantially different and lower. Relaxation as a motivation is held to a lesser extent also. Thus, in terms of motivations, these means are all skewed toward the upper end of the scale and to virtually the same extent. Not only are they independent of each other, several are held with equal vigor by the youthful respondents. Further, these distributions contain no particular abnormalities. All the item standard deviations are contained within the range of .87 - 1.16, with one exception.

One final examination is warranted and that is the mean factor scores for each of the different age groups. So that they be compared on the same factor structures, given that there is some internal deviation by age, we used the overall factor solution to provide a common reference point. These data are in Table 3.

Several conclusions are possible. First, the three age groups are remarkably consistent in their ordering of motivations for watching television. Despite the fact that several means within an age group are not very different from each other, the overall correlation among the three age groups, in terms of ranking the motivations, is .83 (Coefficient of Concordance). Thus, the earlier finding of a consistent factor structure for the separate age groups is reinforced by the finding that each of the motivations occupies approximately the same position in their hierarchy of reasons for watching television.

Second, there is a consistent difference between ages in just how strong the separate motivations are. For the 9-year olds, each of the motivations, with but a single exception, is perceived as more regularly present than it is for the 12-year olds. And for the 12-year olds, each motivation has a higher mean score, with no exceptions, than the same

motivation among the 15-year olds. This consistency is borne out statistically at beyond the .001 level (Friedman Two-Way Rank Order Analysis of Variance).

Further Analyses. Although the identification of principal functions and gratifications sought from television was the major focus of this paper, the resultant data have multiple purposes. Primarily, the continuing analysis in this project consists of determining the ways in which these motivations are predictive of other behaviors and attitudes of the youngsters. Such a presentation is not fully possible within this paper. But perhaps we can exemplify the nature of the further analysis. Factor scores were computed for each youngster for each of the motivation identified. One "Pass Time" score was computed by collapsing the two factors, although we recognize the inherent flaw in that procedure. Thus, it is possible to determine the relationship between motivations for watching television and various other aspects of the child's development.

For example, a significant part of the project in which these data were gathered was concerned with the relationship between watching violence and aggressive/ violence-prone attitudes among British children. The data demonstrated that the motivations of Arousal, Learning, and Companionship were highly correlated with watching violent programs on television, and not significantly related to watching non-violent shows. In contrast, Relaxation was highly correlated with watching both kinds of shows. If one then examines which motivations are related to aggressive personal attitudes, the strongest TV-going motivations were To Forget and Arousal. These kinds of findings are tied directly to some theoretical notions and will be explored in the discussion section.

DISCUSSION

Perhaps the most critical discussion point is the generalizability of such findings. It cannot be claimed that these are the only motivations which exist for television watching, nor the only gratifications obtained. This set of six (or seven if the "Pass Time" component is a valid one) accounts for 56% of the common variance. Thus, a significant portion is unaccounted for. In the pre-testing, which provided the origin for the principal reasons elaborated in this study, we were dismayed by certain omissions from the repertoire of responses obtained. For example, there was no mention by the youngsters that a reason for watching television was to talk about the programs with peers, family, or anyone else. Perhaps the study situation did not make this salient, but that is not a satisfactory explanation, and further work is required.

Certain other notions, often invoked by both broadcasters and academics, were missing. Most noticeably, such phrases as "entertainment" or "information" did not appear in the children's reasons for watching television. Certainly, the information role may be subsumed by the learning functions, and entertainment may run across several of the categories. But these particular categories, pervasive for analysts, were not among those used by the school children.

We also doubt that these motivations as expressed are peculiar to British children. We would expect to find the same kinds of categories evolving among American children, or any children for that matter. Indeed, they may be generic across viewing audiences, differing only in emphasis and salience for adults as well as others. Such a wide step obviously requires verification, and a follow-up study might well focus on such an issue.

Skirted entirely in this type of study is the issue of whether these are motivations sought, gratifications received, or some combination of those. Surely what a child derives from television may well include some portion of what he sought, else he would turn elsewhere for these gratifications, but the specific extent to which this is done remains untouched.

This last statement reminds one that a single medium has been examined here -- television. To what extent there are similar or different motivations obtainable through other media is unexamined. More important, one should be able to conceptualize that certain media are more likely to provide more of certain gratifications than other media or other gratifications. Or, is it instead the case that the receiver seeks whatever momentary gratification he most requires from whatever medium is most accessible. Again, this poses the significance of the receiver-medium interaction.

Further, we have brushed only slightly with the question of the receiver-content interaction in obtaining certain gratifications. Is it not likely that some content is more likely to provide certain gratifications than other kinds of content? How might such content be categorized? McLuhan would argue, we think, that the question of content is irrelevant, that given the medium-message identity, the "cool" media may better be able to provide one set of gratifications and the "hot" media another set. Perhaps the data we have presented will provide an opportunity to test such differing notions more directly. In the examples presented in this paper relating certain motivations more directly to violent fare and aggressive attitudes, the findings suggested that seeking Arousal and seeking to Forget one's problems were related to aggressive attitudes.

However, the former motivation is tied to watching violence, and the latter to watching non-violence. Thus, one finds a theoretical linkage between these data and Tannenbaum's findings that generalized arousal from media-watching is a strong predictor of post-viewing violence (Tannenbaum 1971). But the linkage between Forget-Non-Violence-Aggressive Attitude is inexplicable at this time.

One further problem can be generated from the question of how frequent each of these motivations are. We have identified only that they are reported as probable reasons for watching television with equal vigor. That is not necessarily isomorphic with how often they occur. One wonders just how often a typical child viewer wants to relax, in contrast to be aroused, or to learn, etc.

In sum, we have presented a useful means of identifying a finite, and similar set of motivations for going to television among a wide age range of young people. Even among the oldest, these reasons are strongly identified with; none but a pair fall on the dis-identification side of the scalar developed. The usefulness of this approach may well be tested in terms of its future ability to explain specific media choices, content selections, and post-viewing behaviors.

TABLE 1

Item Factor Loadings - 8 Factor Solution

Factor 1	Loadings
Habit (2)*	.78
Habit (4)	.72
Habit (1)	.58
Habit (3)	.48

Factor 2	Loadings
Learning-Self (3)	.70
Learning-Things (4)	.70
Learning-Things (1)	.65
Learning-Things (2)	.65
Learning-Things (3)	.58
Learning-Self (1)	.58
Learning-Self (4)	.57
Learning-Self (2)	.53

Factor 3	Loadings
Pass Time (3)	.60
Pass Time (4)	.50
Forget (2)	.49

Factor 4	Loadings
Relax (1)	.70
Relax (2)	.61
Relax (3)	.51
Companionship (1)	.47

Factor 5	Loadings
Forget (4)	.72
Forget (2)	.69
Forget (3)	.68
Relax (4)	.52

Factor 6	Loadings
Arousal (1)	.79
Arousal (2)	.69
Arousal (3)	.40

Factor 7	Loadings
Pass Time (1)	.77
Pass Time (2)	.64

Factor 8	Loadings
Companionship (3)	.67
Companionship (4)	.60
Companionship (2)	.51

*These numbers refer to item numbers in Appendix A.

TABLE 2

Factors Ordered by Item Means

Motivation Factor	Average Item Mean
Habit	3.17
Pass Time II	3.11
Pass Time I	3.08
Companionship	2.91
Arousal	2.86
Learning	2.85
Relaxation	2.65
To Forget	2.39

TABLE 3

Factor - Item Means By Age Groups

Motivation Factor*	Age: 9	12	15
Habit	3.34	3.28	2.88
Pass Time II	3.12	3.11	3.00
Relaxation	2.90	2.81	2.27
Pass Time I	3.11	3.20	3.00
Companionship	3.09	2.99	2.63
Arousal	3.13	2.94	2.47
Learning	2.98	2.95	2.61
To Forget	2.95	2.47	2.15

*This first column is the overall ranked order.

APPENDIX A

Full set of items analyzed: I watch TV...

Relaxation

1. because it relaxes me
2. because it calms me down when I am in a temper
3. because it's a pleasant rest
4. because I don't have to do anything when I watch

Companionship

1. because it's almost like a human friend
2. so I won't be alone
3. when there's no one to talk to or play with
4. because it makes me feel less lonely

Learning about Things

1. so I can learn about things happening in the world
2. so I can learn how to do things I haven't done before
3. because it gives me ideas
4. because it teaches me things I don't learn at school

Habit

1. because it's a habit
2. because I just like to watch
3. because it's so much fun
4. because I just enjoy watching

To Pass Time

1. when I'm bored
2. when I have nothing better to do
3. because it passes the time away
4. because it gives me something to do

Learning about Myself

1. because it helps me learn things about myself
2. because it shows me how I'm supposed to act
3. so I could learn about what could happen to me
4. because it shows how other people deal with the same problems I have

Arousal

1. because it's thrilling
2. because it excites me
3. because it stirs me up

To Forget

1. so I can forget about school and homework
2. because it helps me forget my problems
3. so I can get away from the rest of the family
4. so I can get away from what I'm doing

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